

instance, in the matter of their belief about God the *Ṣūfis* were divided into *Wujūdiyya* and *Shuhūdiyya*. The one holding an extreme pantheistic view, the other a modified view of it. Aḥmad reconciled the two by asserting that a *Ṣūfi* in the early stage of mysticism fails to see any distinction between the Creator and the creatures and he is a *Wujūdī*, a mystic; but in the higher stages he gains the knowledge of the two as existing separately and is thus a *Shuhūdī*, a modified pantheist.

Aḥmad is credited with as many as 644 treatises on different religious subjects. His teachings are mainly embodied in a series of letters which were collected in his lifetime and are now published in three large volumes.

We shall speak again of Aḥmad in the following chapter in connection with the peculiar dignity which he claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors.

CHAPTER XIX

The Naqshbandi Order.

THE FOUR QAYYUMS.

The doctrine of *Qayyūmiyat*, to be explained in the present chapter, is peculiar to the teachings of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddadi Order and requires separate treatment.

Aḥmad Sirhindi was the first of the saints of Islam who claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors the title of *Qayyūm*. It would seem that the *Qayyūm* is to be considered higher in rank and dignity than the Perfect man.⁽¹⁾ He is described as follows: The *Qayyūm* is the dignitary on whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes, and things actual and potential. All things, whether they belong to the past, the present or the future—men, animals, birds and plants—in fact every animate and inanimate object—the throne of God, the Preserved Tablet, the Pen, the Planets, the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the heavens with all their signs of the Zodiacs, are “under his shadow,” i. e. (government).

It is through his command that the heavens and their ‘Zodiacs’ move in their courses, that the waves

(1) The doctrine of the Perfect Man has been expounded by Ibnu'l-'Arabi and Jili, also see, Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

rise and fall in seas and oceans, that the leaves in the trees shake and rustle, that the rains fall from heaven, that fruits ripen, that birds open their beaks (to receive food), and that day succeeds night. Every event, small or great, takes place according to his command. No a drop of rain falls without his knowledge. The earth remains motionless or quakes in accordance with his will, and every one of its inhabitants receives joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain according to his discretion. Not a single moment or day, week, month, or year can prove auspicious or inauspicious to the world without his order. There can be no harvest, no growth of any plant unless he wills. In fact, every conceivable event takes place as he desires and directs.

Moreover, all ascetics, worshippers, pious people and saints occupied with God's praise, remembrance and meditation, in huts and cells, on mountains and by the banks of rivers or seas, either with their tongues or with other organs of spiritual communication (*laṭā'if*) all such are engaged by the will of the Qayyūm, and unless their worship is first accepted by him it does not reach unto God.

The Qayyūm is 'the substance' of all that exists actually or potentially, and all beings, except God, are to him what 'accidents' are to 'substance'. He is the Vicar of God on earth. The Absolute bestows upon him a special essence, called *mawhūb*.⁽¹⁾ on which depends the subsistence of the universe, yet though he is the 'Substance' of all, the application of this term is

(1) Lit; given.

not commensurate with his dignity. Even so, since the universe stands to him in the relation of 'accidents', we call him 'substance', for there is no substance without accidents, and no accidents without substance. Every *Ghawth*, *Quṭb*, *Abdāl* etc. is a representative of the Qayyūm and is his servant. Verily, he is the Vicar of God, and all the *Afrād*⁽¹⁾ of the world turn to him. He is moreover the *qibla* of the universe and of all its inhabitants, whether they know it or not. Such is the dignity of the office of Qayyūm as bestowed upon Aḥmad Sirhindī and his three immediate successors. But this office was strictly limited to these four and no other can receive this high dignity in future.

Aḥmad further asserted that God fashioned his body with the substance that was left over after the creation of the body of Muhammad. The second Qayyūm, Ma'ṣūm, a son of Aḥmad, states in one of his letters that, "Aḥmad said that God used the residue of the substance of the body of Muhammad to form his body and those of his three successors. "In this connection a story is told of how one night after his prayer Aḥmad's whole body became so luminous that it dazzled the eyes, and at that moment he received the following 'revelation' from God: "O, Aḥmad! this thy body, is made of the residue of the substance of Muhammad's body, which I had reserved for thy sake, for thou wast to be my beloved."⁽²⁾

(1) *Afrād*, are those saints who are not under the *Quṭb*, the head of the invisible hierarchy of the saints.

(2) Abul-Fayd Khwaja Kamalu d-Din *op. cit.* Part I, pp. 93-97.

It is said that when God bestowed upon Aḥmad the dignity of the Qayyūm, the spirit of Muhammad appeared to him and said: "You are indeed my son, like Ibrāhīm and Qāsim.⁽¹⁾ The honour and privilege which God has given to you, no other saint has ever received from Him. You have been raised a thousand years after me, at a time when God might raise up another Prophet to reform religion, but as there can arise no Prophet after me, you are sent forth into the world endowed with the dignity of those exalted messengers of God who were known as *Ulu'l-'azam*⁽²⁾ "Possessors of constancy," and all the acts of such prophets will proceed from you, and through you my religion will be reformed. Muhammad then turned to the spirit of *Khadija* and said, "Aḥmad is your son also, for God has given him to us both, and he is brother of Qāsim and Ibrāhīm." Whereupon *Khadija* affectionately embraced him and said, "You are the best of all my sons."⁽³⁾

Another story, illustrating his dignity in virtue of his *Qayyūmiyat* (the office of Qayyūm), runs as follows. Once Aḥmad saw the angels, jinn, human beings and the entire creation performing their *namaz* and making prostration towards him. He 'concentrated his mind' to find out why he was the recipient of such higher

(1) Muhammad's two sons born of Mary the Copt. and Khadija, who died in their infancy.

(2) The following nine are said to have been *Ulu'l-'azam* Prophets: Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

(3) *Ibid*, Part I. 99-100.

honour. He was forthwith 'inspired' to know that the Ka'ba itself had come to visit him and that he was so completely surrounded by it that every one prostrating towards the Ka'ba was actually prostrating towards himself. At the same time he received the following "revelation": "O Aḥmad! your great desire was to visit the Ka'ba, and lo! I have sent the Ka'ba to visit you. I now bestow upon the ground whereon stands your monastery, the dignity of the Ka'ba and I also deposit within it the light of the Ka'ba itself." The Ka'ba then entered the monastery of Aḥmad, and the ground whereon the monastery stood itself became so intimately one with the Ka'ba, that the former was first 'annihilated' and then received its 'subsistence' in the latter, and thus all the realities of the Ka'ba came to exist in the monastery also. An angel was then heard to proclaim, "This mosque (monastery) of Aḥmad Sirhindī has superiority over all the mosques of the world, and he who ever performs prayer in this mosque will acquire the same degree of merit as though he had offered prayer in all the mosques of the world." It is on the basis of this legend that the Muslims of India, more especially those of the Punjab, make a pilgrimage to this particular mosque. The tomb of this saint himself is said to be situated at a distance of about twenty yards from this ground which is now regarded as being quite as sacred as that of the Ka'ba.⁽¹⁾

The next great favour which Aḥmad, as the Qayyūm, claimed to have received from God was that He

(1) *Ibid* Part I. pp. 100-101.

bestowed upon him the title of the 'Depository of God's Mercy', and actually made him the custodian of 'His Treasury of Mercy'. At the time when he received this favour he declared that he saw an infinite number of angels descending from heaven and standing before him, in rows, with folded hands, and that they said to him; "We are the angels of mercy, and God has commanded us to carry out your orders." Thus Aḥmad not only claimed that he was the treasury of God's Mercy but also that its distribution was entrusted to him. He further asserted that he had given the charge of keeping the seal of the permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment to his son, Sa'id. He declared that all who receive from God a permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment must first get the impress on it of his seal. Other acts of Mercy, such as rescuing sinners from hell, and assisting people at the Bridge and at the Balances, he has entrusted to his son and successor, Ma'sūm.⁽¹⁾

The story is related that once Aḥmad went to the graveyard in Sirhind, where one of his ancestors, Rafi'u'd-Dīn, the founder of the city, was buried. There it was revealed to him that henceforth, by virtue of his visit to that cemetery, no one buried in it will suffer the usual punishment of the grave till the day of judgment.⁽²⁾

Similar sanctity is said to attach to the land situated to the north of his monastery. This is called 'heavenly

(1) *Ibid* Part I. pp. 101-102.

(2) *Ibid* Part I. pp. 154, 155.

land' and it is believed that any one buried in it will surely go to heaven. Ma'sūm writes that his father once told him that God had graciously made his burial place 'heavenly' and that if a handful of earth from this ground be cast into the grave of any one, the soul of the person there buried will not suffer from any torment of hell. This particular piece of 'Heavenly land' measures 40 yards in length and 30 yards in breadth. On its western extremity is a well concerning which Aḥmad once declared that any one drinking of its water thrice, would escape the touch of the fire of hell and most surely enter heaven.⁽¹⁾

The following story is yet a further illustration of the high claims which this saint made concerning his personal dignity as the Qayyūm of his age. It is said that once in Sirhind plague was raging very violently. When the mortality became excessive, people hastened to Aḥmad and asked him to pray that the epidemic might cease. After offering prayer Aḥmad declared: "God demands one of my children on behalf of the people, and I have agreed to give one." The same day his son Muḥammad 'Isā, eleven years old, died of the plague. His death, however, though believed to have taken place by way of relief for the people, failed to bring about any abatement of the epidemic. Consequently, the people came once again to Aḥmad and entreated him to pray on their behalf. This time he was informed by a 'revelation' from God that yet another son of his must die on behalf of the people.

(1) *Ibid* Part I. p. 160.

Again the saint consented to the death of his son, Farukh, then ten years old. He also was attacked by the plague and died the same day. Even this did not have the desired effect, for the epidemic continued to rage as violently as before. The devotees of the saint once again besought his prayers. Aḥmad now offered his daughter Kulthūm, and also the wife of his son Ma'sūm, and in consequence of his prayer they both fell ill and died of the plague. It is said that when Kulthūm was lying on her deathbed, about to breathe her last, angels appeared to the saint and congratulated him. But this being no occasion for joy, he greatly wondered at their felicitations, whereupon God is said to have sent him the following extraordinary 'revelation': "O Aḥmad! rejoice, for I have chosen thy daughter, Kulthūm, for my prophet Yaḥyā (John the Baptist), and these angels and saints who stand around her bed are there to solemnize her marriage with him." On receiving Aḥmad's consent the ceremony was performed by 'the spirit of Muhammad,' and then the spirits of all the prophets and angels bore witness to it. As soon as the ceremony was over she breathed her last. The saint forbade the people to mourn over her death, for he said that he saw Yaḥyā with a great concourse of the angels and the spirits of the saints and the prophets following the bier of Kulthūm as if they were marching in a wedding procession. He also said that when her body was laid in the grave the spirit of Yaḥyā caught hold of it.¹

(1) *Ibid.* Part I. 157-158.

Aḥmad even declared that he had access to 'the Preserved Tablet.' The story goes that one of his disciples, Shaykh Ṭāhūr, fell in love with a Hindu girl, and in consequence renounced Islam and became a Hindu. Aḥmad prayed earnestly for him and he was guided back to Islam. Soon after he again apostatized, and again his faith was restored to him by the prayer of the saint. When this was repeated the third time, the saint studied the 'Preserved Tablet,' and discovered that it was recorded of him that he would die as a 'sinner.' The saint records that he then erased the word 'sinner' and wrote the word 'saint' in its place! Ṭāhūr then repented sincerely of his lapse into Hinduism and became a devoted disciple of Aḥmad. Soon after he received from the saint permission to make disciples in the Chishtī, the Qādiri and the Naqshbandī Orders, and was also raised to the dignity of the Quṭb. Aḥmad finally sent him to Lahore as his vicegerent, where he lived until his death (1630—31 A. D.)⁽¹⁾

The second Qayyūm and successor of Aḥmad was the latter's third son, Muḥammad Ma'sūm 'Urwatū'l-Wuthqā, born in 1598-99 A.D. It is said that the name Ma'sūm, 'sinless,' was given to him in accordance with the instruction of 'the spirit of Muhammad.' At his birth the spirit of Muhammad, in company with the spirits of all the prophets and saints, is said to have come and repeated the *adhān* in the ears of the child. Miraculous events are said to have marked each stage of his development.

(1) *Ibid.* Part I p. 327.

The second Qayyūm claimed to have learnt from his father the meanings of the mysterious letters which and found at the beginning of the certain chapters of the Quran. It is said that no one had ever known their meanings except Muhammad and his more intimate companions. It was a thousand years after the time of Muhammad that they were revealed for the first time to Aḥmad, and the only person to whom he transmitted this knowledge was this son, his successor. It is related that in the period during which the father was expounding the meanings of these letters to his son, every precaution was taken against the possibility of being overheard by any man, jinn or spirit. For instance, the evil spirits and demons were imprisoned in the ocean, and the angels were made to stand in tiers with folded hands, round about Aḥmad and his son. Both the Qayyūms at this time had miraculously transported themselves to Mecca, and had shut themselves up inside the Ka'ba. For three days the instructions continued to be given and they are said to have been of such terrible nature that at every exposition of the mystery Ma'ṣūm became unconscious. But at the end of the three days the saint had only completed the unfolding of the one letter, *qāf*. It is said that the mysteries attaching to the remaining letters were subsequently revealed to Ma'ṣūm by God Himself.⁽¹⁾

Prince Aurangzeb, who in his early youth was a devotee of Aḥmad, now became a disciple of Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm. The reason given for his accepting Qayyūm

(1) *Ibid.* Part I pp. 164—166.

II as his *pīr* is said to be as follows. He dreamed one night that the day of judgment had come, and that sinners were being dragged down to hell. The angels of hell came to him also to drive him into the fire, but as they were about to take hold of him shouts were heard from all sides, "Here comes Imām Ma'ṣūm! Imām Ma'ṣūm! Imām Ma'ṣūm! he is our deliverer!" The Qayyūm then appeared on the scene delivered the sinners from hell, and instead sent them to heaven. Finally Ma'ṣūm turned to Aurangzeb and bade the angels release him on the ground that he was his disciple. It is said that on the following morning he went to the Qayyūm and became his disciple.⁽¹⁾ The saint, after initiating him into his Order, predicted that he would succeed his father as Emperor of India. From that time Aurangzeb was supported in his contest against his brothers for the throne by this saint who wielded very great influence throughout the Empire. It was largely through the influence of this puritanical *pīr* of his, Ma'ṣūm, that he reimposed the *jizya* on his Hindu subjects and forbade the use of music. Even the practice of Samā' at the shrines of the Chishtī saints was put a stop to.

The third Qayyūm was Khwāja Naqshband Hujjatu'llāh, born in 1624-25 A.D. He was the second son of Qayyūm II. The year of his birth is regarded as remarkable, and is called *sāl-i-muṭlaq*, 'the absolute year,' for it was in this very year that Qayyūm I died,

(1) *Ibid.* Part II p. 38.

that Qayyūm II succeeded him, and that Qayyūm III was born.

Like his predecessor, Ḥujjatu'llāh also influenced very greatly the reigning Emperor, Aurangzeb, in his political career. The biographers of Qayyūm III say that it was at the instigation of this saint that Aurangzeb led out his great expedition against the Shi'a kingdom of South India.

A large number of miracles are declared to have been performed by him. The most astonishing of these is that he is said to have raised to life his granddaughter after she had been dead for three days. It is said that his grand-daughter, Tāju'n-Nisā, once fell ill, and after suffering for some time died. When the news was conveyed to the Qayyūm he said that she was not dead but alive. The doctors did their best to revive her but they did not find any sign of life in her. When three days had passed, and her body began to show signs of decay, the people approached the saint and requested him either to allow to make preparation for her burial or else raise her to life. Whereupon the saint approached the body and called her by name, at which she at once sat up.⁽¹⁾

The fourth Qayyūm Zubayr, was a grandson of Qayyūm III. It is related that his father, Abu'l 'Alī, took the veil, after the manner of women, when 12 years old but discarded it when Zubayr was born 12 years afterwards. Such supernatural events as are said to have taken place at the time of the birth of the

(1) *Ibid.* Part III, p. 90.

first three Qayyūms are reported to have occurred at Zubayr's birth also, and countless miracles are said to have been performed by him from his childhood on to old age.

It was during the time of the fourth Qayyūm that Aurangzeb died, and in the subsequent war of succession between princes A'zam and Mu'azzam, the saint appears to have played an important role in deciding its final issue. He openly championed the cause of his disciple, Mu'azzam, and encouraged him with the promise of victory in his fight with his brother. As predicted the battle ended in favour of Mu'azzam, who ascended the throne with the title of Bahādur Shāh. Zubayr, however, never allowed him to forget that it was through his influence that he had gained the Empire.

The fourth Qayyūm passed the rest of his life amid the turbulent times of the now decaying Muslim Empire. The hostile forces of Marhattas, Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats, the French and the English were closing in upon Delhi. It was during this time that Delhi was sacked by the Persians under Nādir Shāh (1739 A.D.) who took away the Peacock Throne and with it immense treasure.

The decay which had set in was due in the main to the intolerance and fanaticism with which the four Qayyūms had imbued the Moghal Emperors—in particular Aurangzeb and his successors. It is notable that the Muslim Empire in India was at the height of its glory in the time of Akbar, in whose reign Qayyūm I

assumed office, and that it lay in ruins when the last of the Qayyūms died, in 1739—40 A.D. Equally noteworthy is the fact that at the death of Zubayr the Naqshbandī-Mujaddadī Order had spread to every part of the Muslim world.

CHAPTER XX.

Some Minor Orders.

1. THE UWAYSİ ORDER.

This Order is ascribed to Uwaysu'l-Qaranī, who derived his title from Qaran, a village in Yaman. He was a contemporary of Muhammad but was prevented from seeing him chiefly because of his high sense of duty to his own mother and also owing to the fact that he was subject to states of ecstasy which periodically overmastered him. He is said to have received instruction in a mysterious way from the spirit of Muhammad. Thus it is that when a *Ṣūfī* is known to have no *pīr*, he is said to be an 'Uwaysī.' The custom, to which reference has already been made (p. 190), of connecting two saints or mystics in a spiritual genealogy who could never have met because separated by a long space of time or distance, is really derived from this Uwaysī order. The one is said to have received instruction from the *rūḥānīyat* ('spirituality,'—elsewhere we have translated this word by 'spirit') of the other. Such cases are common in the Naqshbandī order. (See pp. 187-190).

The following anecdote concerning Uways is related by the author of the *Kashfu'l-mahjūb*: The Apostle said to the Companions: 'There is a man at Qaran, called Uways, who at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of my people, as many as the sheep of Rabi'a

and Muḍar. 'Then turning to 'Umar and 'Alī, he said: 'You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy; on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a dirhem which is not from leprosy (pīstī) and he has a similar spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, give him my greetings, and bid him pray for my people.' After the Apostle's death 'Umar came to Mecca, and cried out in the course of a sermon: 'O men of Najd, are there any natives of Qaran amongst you? They answered, 'Yes'; whereupon 'Umar sent for them and asked them about Uways. They said: 'He is a mad man who dwells in solitude and associates with no one. He does not eat what men eat, and he feels no joy or sorrow. When others smile he weeps, and when others weep he smiles.' 'Umar said: 'I wish to see him.' They replied: "He lives in a desert, far from our camels. 'Umar and 'Alī set out in quest of him. They found him praying and waited until he was finished. He saluted them and showed them the marks on his side and the palm of his hand. They asked his blessing and gave him the Apostle's greeting, and enjoined him to pray for the Moslem people. After they had stayed with him for a while, he said: 'You have taken trouble (to see me); now return, for the Resurrection is near, when we shall see each other without having to say farewell. At present I am engaged in preparing for the Resurrection.' When the men of Qaran came home, they exhibited great respect for Uways. He left his native place and came to Kufa. One day he was seen by Ḥarīm b. Ḥayyān, and after that nobody saw him

until the period of civil war. He fought for 'Alī, and fell a martyr at the battle of Siffin."⁽¹⁾

D'Ohsson in his work on the Ottoman Empire says that Uways formed the first order of the anchorites who practised the greatest austerity. He writes: "This visionary pretended also to have received from the heavenly visitor the plan of his future conduct, and the rules of his institution. These consisted in a continual abstinence, in retirement from society, in an abandonment of the pleasures of innocent nature, and in the recital of an infinity of prayers day and night. Uways even added to these practices. He went so far as to draw out his teeth, in honour, it is said, of the Prophet, who had lost two of his own in the celebrated battle of Uhūd. He required his disciples to make the same sacrifice. He pretended that all those who would be especially favoured by heaven, and really called to the exercises of his Order, should lose their teeth in a supernatural manner; that an angel should draw out their teeth while in the midst of a deep sleep; and that on awakening they should find them by their bedside. The experiences of such vocation was doubtless too severe to attract many proselytes to the Order; it only enjoyed a certain degree of attraction for the eyes of fanatic and credulously ignorant people during the first days of Islamism."⁽²⁾

Uways was regarded as the patron saint of many of the trade guilds in Turkey, especially that of the barber

(1) *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, pp. 83, 84.

(2) Quoted by Rose in *The Darvishes*, pp. 266, 267.

tooth-drawers. According to Rose he is also the patron of bowmen and camel drivers.

As we have seen the place assigned to Uways in Indian hagiology is significant. There were indeed many saints who were termed 'Uwaysi' and some of them originated certain of the other Minor Orders. One such Order is called Madārī, and we shall now proceed to give a brief account of it.

2. THE MADĀRĪ ORDER.

This Order is ascribed to Badī'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār. Unfortunately there is much confusion in the various details given concerning him by different hagiographers. The following account is based on the *Mir'āt-i-Madārī*, a manuscript copy of which is to be found in the Buhār Library, a section of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. The *Mir'āt-i-Madārī* is said to have had for its sources the *Imān-i-Mahmūdī*, a work believed to have been written by Mahmūd Kantūrī, one of the vicegerents of Shāh Madār.

Shah Madār was a Jew, and his father, Abū Ishāq Shāmī was a direct descendant of Aaron, the brother of Moses. The birth of Shāh Madār is said to have been announced to his father in a dream by Moses himself, who named the child Badī'u'd-Dīn (the maker of religion), and said that he would be like unto him in the dignity of sainthood. According to Moses' prediction signs of the 'Mosaic saintship' showed themselves in Madār in his youth. He received his early education from a Jewish teacher, Ḥadīqa Shāmī, a man who

knew all the scriptures by heart and truly followed their teachings. This Ḥadīqa is said to have performed many miracles in his life.

When Shāh Madār was still young his parents died, and he, broken hearted over his loss, went to his master Ḥadīqa and said, "I have acquired mastery over all the Scriptures and have learnt much from you about the mysteries of religion, but so far I have not entered at all into the experience of union with God. You have taught me of one Ahmad, foretold in the Torah and Injil, who was to come after Moses and Jesus, and through whom alone one could find God. Where is he to be found?" His master replied, "Ahmad has passed away from this world, but his followers are to be found in Mecca and Medina." Whereupon Shāh Madār renounced all his worldly possessions and went to Mecca. There he spent some time in the study of the Quran and Traditions and then mastered the Fiqh of all the four Sunnī Schools of Jurisprudence. Even so his soul was not satisfied. At last, disappointed, he thought of returning to his home in Syria, but when he went to make the circuit of the Ka'ba for the last time, he heard a voice saying to him, "If thou art a seeker after God, hasten to the tomb of Muhammad in Medina." In obedience to the voice he went to the Prophet's tomb and as he kissed it he heard a voice saying to him, "Peace be on thee, O Badī'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār! God willing, thou wilt soon attain thy goal." Shortly afterwards the spirit of Muhammad appeared and, in the presence of 'Alī's spirit, instructed him in the mystery

of the religion of Islam. Afterwards Muhammad commended him to the care of 'Alī and ordered him to instruct him as one of his own sons in esoteric knowledge. Shāh Madār next went to Najaf Ashraf, the sacred place of the followers of 'Alī. There he was introduced by 'Alī to Imām Mahdī, the twelfth invisible Imām, who further instructed him in the twelve heavenly books. We learn of these books thus incidently in this connection. They are enumerated as follows: The four books which were revealed for the children of Adam, viz.,

Torah, Zabūr, Injil and Furqān.

Four which were sent down to the jinn viz. Rakūrī, Jājarī, Dasharī and Waliyan.

Four which were revealed to the Angels viz. Mir'āt, A'īnu'r-Rab, Sirr-i-Mājir and Mazhar-i-Alif.

When Shāh Madār had been thoroughly instructed in all esoteric and exoteric knowledge, Imām Mahdī took him to the spirit of 'Alī, who then appointed him his vicegerent and ordered him to go to Medina. There the spirit of Muhammad directed him to proceed to India.

Another version of his life speaks of him as an Arab of the Quraysh tribe, and traces his genealogy on his father's side to Abū Hurayra and on his mother's side to 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, both companions of Muhammad. His father's name, according to this version, is said to be 'Alī. In his spiritual genealogy, he is connected, through 'Abdu'llāh Makki and Shaykhū'l-Jārib Muqaddasī with Ṭayfūr Shāmī. The story goes that

Ṭayfūr's *pīr* had been a disciple and companion of Jesus Christ, and that Jesus informed Ṭayfūr that he would live to a great age and see Muhammad! Jesus is further said to have instructed him to remain hidden in a cave till the appearance of Muhammad, and then to accept his religion.

Though obscurity surrounds the origin of Badi' u'd-Dīn, there is reason for believing that, on reaching India, he first went to Ajmer where he is said to have received instruction as to his future activities from the spirit of *Khwāja* Mu'īnu'd-Dīn. Thence he went to Makanpūr, in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, where he died in 1485 A. D. There is some difference of opinion as to his age at the time of his death. According to some he lived to be 250 years old; according to others 150.⁽¹⁾

His tomb in Makanpūr is visited by crowds of both Muslims and Hindus, and is the scene of an annual fair. Women are excluded from his shrine because it is believed that any woman entering it is immediately seized with violent pains, as if her whole body were wrapped in flames of fire. On the occasion of his *'urs* the rite of fire-walking is performed by Madāri *faqīrs*. Burning coals of fire are spread on the ground and sandalwood is sprinkled upon them. Then the *faqīrs*, following their leader, jump quickly along the path of coals, shouting meanwhile "Dam Madār; Dam Madār;"

(1) See, Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-Asfiya* vol. II, (1914, Nawelkishor Press, Cawnpore) pp. 310-311. See also, *Akhbaru'l Akhyar Munaqiau'l-Asfiya Mu'arjub l-Wilayat*.

i. e. 'By the breath of Madār;' Their cry is believed to be a protection against injury from the hot coals, as well as a cure for the bite of a snake or the sting of a scorpion. After the performance their feet are washed and are found to have received no injury.

Sometimes devotees of the saint vow a black cow at the time of his birthday, which is supposed to have been the 17th. Jamādiu 'l-Awwal. The cow is then slaughtered and the meat distributed among *faqīrs*. This custom is called "*gāi lūtnā*" i. e., plundering the cow.

3. THE SHAṬṬĀRĪ ORDER.

This order is an offshoot of the Ṭayfūrī *Khānwāda*, and is attributed to Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh Shaṭṭārī a descendant of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī. The name *Shaṭṭār* literally means 'speed', and is a term applied by the Ṣūfis to certain mystical practices whereby they are enabled in the shortest possible time to arrive at the state of 'annihilation' (*fanā*) and 'subsistence' (*baqā*). 'Abdu'llāh was the first to receive the title of Shaṭṭārī on the completion of such practices. It was given to him by his *pīr*, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ārif, who afterwards sent him to India. Wherever he went 'Abdu'llāh sought out the Ṣūfis and said to them: "If you possess any spiritual gift, I request you to share it with me, otherwise I invite you to share mine". He also made this proclamation in every place through which he passed: "Let everyone who is a seeker after God come to me and I will lead him to God."

When in India he first took up his residence at

Jaunpūr, the capital of the then reigning Sultān, Ibrāhīm Sharqī. But soon his relations with the court became strained and he was obliged to leave for Mālwa, which then was a small independent Muslim state. There in its capital—Mandu—he lived till he died in 1428-29 A. D.

Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior was a famous saint of this Order, fourth in the line of succession from 'Abdu'llāh Shaṭṭārī. He travelled extensively, making acquaintance wherever he went with leading saints and Ṣūfis of his time. First he laboured hard to acquire the esoteric knowledge peculiar to Ṣūfism, which consists chiefly of the art of magic and methods of summoning jinn. Later, he turned his attention to the study of mysticism and devoted himself to the purification of his heart for the purposes of attaining to the knowledge of God. Soon he rose to be a mystic of so high an order that he held authority to make disciples in the fourteen *Khānwādas* becoming at length a Quṭb of his age. The Emperor Humāyūn held him in very high esteem, and indeed it was in consequence of his friendly relation with Emperor that Sher Shāh, after defeating Humāyūn, regarded Muḥammad Ghawth with suspicion. A further pretext for the new ruler's persecution of the saint was found in his book *Mī'rāj* (ascension). In this he described his experiences in the path of spiritual progress, frequently making use of pantheistic expressions. Such a book was considered sufficient reason for condemning him to death. Muḥammad Ghawth fled from Mālwa and took shelter in Guj-

rāt, which then formed an independent state under Sultān Muḥammad III. But the 'Ulamā of Gujrāt also prepared a brief against him and presented it to the court. The Sultān however refused to take any step unless it was signed by Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn, a courtier for whom the king entertained great regard.

When Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn was urged by the 'Ulamā to add his signature to the brief, he went personally to Muḥammad Ghawth in order to hear his explanation of the objectionable passages in his book. Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn was so impressed with Muḥammad Ghawth, that he refused to sign the brief on the ground that the passages in question were uttered in the state of ecstasy and hence beyond the purview of the jurisdiction of the 'Ulamā. In consequence, Muḥammad Ghawth was acquitted of the charge of heresy and hailed as a saint. Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn himself became his disciple.⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad Ghawth was the author of several books which dealt for the most part with magic, incantations, and the methods of summoning the jinn. The most notable of his extant writings are, *Jawāhir-i-khamsa* and *Awrād-i-Ghawthiyya*. The saint died in 1562-63 A. D. and his tomb in Gwalior is famous as a place of pilgrimage.

Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn, succeeded Muḥammad Ghawth, and in time came to be regarded as a famous saint of Gujrāt. He founded a great Madrasa, which was a centre of learning for the whole of that district and

(1) See Ghulam Sarwar *op. cit.* pp. 332-333.

actually existed as late as 1820-21 A. D. He lived during the reigns of successive rulers of Gujrāt, and witnessed its conquest by Akbar.

He too was a notable author, and is said to have written about 300 works, but of course this is gross exaggeration. Some of his writings may still be seen in the Library of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh in Aḥmadabad. He died in 1018 A. D., and was buried in the centre of his great Madrasa. Over his tomb a beautiful shrine was built by Murtaḍa Khān, the Governor of Gujrāt during the reign of Jahāngīr.

4. QALANDARI ORDER.

The meaning of the word *qalandar* has not yet been satisfactorily defined. In an article written on the subject a few years ago, an Indian Ṣūfī claimed that it is derived from one of the names of God in Syriac.⁽¹⁾ Others have sought to find its derivation in the Persian *Kalāntar*, a chief man, or *Kalantar* a rough, uncouth man, but both of these are rejected by Rose as highly improbable. Further, the idea has been put forward that the term is derived from the Turkish *Qarinda* or *Qalandārī*, both meaning musical instruments, or again, that it is connected with the Turkish word *qāl*, meaning pure; but all such attempts to trace it to known word in various languages are beset with difficulties.

The term, whatever its meaning, is applied to an order of *faqīrs*, of which we have varying descriptions. According to some writers these *faqīrs* form a class of

(2) *Asnar-i-Tasawwuf*, Lahore, July 1925.

begging monks, but others speak of them as a tribe of nomads who make their living by conjuring and the exhibition of performing bears, etc. Others, again, give a more honourable account of its members, depicting them as a pious people who travel about, mostly without shoes, and practise the severest acts of austerity, and at times live in a state of ecstasy.⁽¹⁾ But in the hagiology of Indian Islam the Qalandariyya is an order of *faqirs* who are so absorbed in religious reveries or overcome to such an extent by ecstatic experiences that they are unable to distinguish between things lawful and unlawful. Members of this order are distinguished by the fact that they shave their heads, eyebrows, moustaches and beards.

The first man known to have had the name Qalandar is said to have been 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Makkī. It has generally been believed that he was a companion of the Prophet himself. According to Ṣūfī legend he is not only still alive, but is said to have been living through the ages from the time of Abraham until now! In Pākpatan, close to the tomb of Bābā Farīd, a small mound (*sardāba*) is pointed out as the place inside of which he is said to be now existing through in a state of unconsciousness self-induced by the effect of *Ḥabs-i Dam*, the holding of the breath.

According to an account current in India, the order was found by Sayyid Khidr Rūmī Qalandar Khaprā-dārī, a disciple of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Makkī. The word

Rūmī indicates that he belonged to Rūm, or Turkistān, while the title Khaprādārī is connected with a cup which he called *Khaprā*, and always carried with him. It is said that this cup possessed the miraculous quality of being able to supply to any one whatever was wanted.

The peculiarity of this order whereby the members shave their heads etc, is thus explained. Khidr Rūmī's *pīr*, 'Abdu'l-'Azīz owing to his very great age had lost all his hair, and his disciple in his ardent desire to imitate his master in every detail of his life and appearance, shaved off the hair of his face.

It is said that Khidr Rūmī once came to Delhi and there met Khwāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, who initiated him in the Chishtī Order and gave him the authority to make disciples in it. In return Khidr Rūmī received Quṭb-ud-Dīn in the Qalandarī order and bestowed upon him a like authority. Thus originated within the Chishitiyya a sub-section called the Chishitiyya-Qalandariyya; and in the Qalandariyya called the Qalandariyya-Chishtiyya.

The biographers of Khidr Rūmī say that he was a contemporary of the following saints; 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gilānī, Shihābu d-Dīn Suhrawardī, Mawlānā Bahā'u'd-Dīn the father of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, Badi'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār, Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakarganj.

The Qalandarī Order was introduced into India by Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn Ghawthu'd-dahar Qalandar. The saint was at first a disciple of Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi, but later at the suggestion of his *pīr* he went to

(1) For a fuller discussion on the term see Rose, *The Darvishes*, pp. 169-70.

Rūm and became a disciple of Khidr Rūmī, who appointed him his vicegerent and sent him back to India. Najmu'd-Dīn is said to have journeyed twice to England and China and to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca forty-two times. Among his acts of austerity it is mentioned that once he fasted for a period of forty years, breaking his fast every evening with the leaves of the plum tree; and that, further, he remained seated for thirty years on one stone. His chest, we are also told, used to give out the sound of 'Hū', the Ṣūfī's abbreviated name for God (Allah). Legend tells us that he lived to the great age of 200 years, and that he died in 1432 A. D. His shrine is at Mandu in Malwa, close to the palace of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghawrī. He was succeeded by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Binādal Qalandar Sarandāz-i-Ghawthī. The title *Sarandāz* means one who casts away his head, and is said to have been given to him because at the time of performing Dhikr his head would become severed from his neck. He died in 1518 A. D. at the age of 145. He was the last of the Qalandari saints to have lived to over 100 years.

Another saint of this order whose name is still venerated all over North India, was Sharfu'd-Dīn Bū'Alī Qalandar of Pānīpat. He at first held the office of a Muftī in Delhi and was a disciple of Shihābu'd-Dīn Chishtī, fourth in the line of succession from Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The story goes that once when he was delivering a lecture and parading his learning, a *faqīr* stood at the door and said, "O Sharfu'd-Dīn,

it is not for this that you were born—how long will you continue in such disputations?" This gentle rebuke sank deep into his heart, and forsaking his office and the pulpit he began to seek peace in solitude. Eventually he cast away his books into the river Gumtī, and as an act of penance continued to stand knee-deep in its waters for several years. Then he heard a voice saying to him: "O Sharfu'd-Dīn, thine austerity has been accepted, ask whatsoever thou willest." He replied, "Nothing but Thee, and Thee alone." He was then told that his prayer had been heard, and he was ordered to come up out of the water. Sharfu'd-Dīn said, "If this is Thy desire take Thou me from this water by Thine own hand, as for myself I have no desire to leave this 'sea of love'." At the next moment he found that some one had lifted him up from the water and had placed him on the ground. Exasperated at the conduct of this stranger, he cried out, "Shame! thou hast spoiled my labour of many years. But a few more moments and I would have attained my goal." The stranger replied, "I am 'Alī, and son-in-law of the Prophet; art thou not aware that I am also known by the title of *yad Allah*, the hand of God?" "Saying this 'Alī imparted to him spiritual power and disappeared. From that time he became a Qalandar. According to others he was initiated into the Qalandari Order by Najmu'd-Dīn Ghawth Qalandar.

Sharfu'd-Dīn's teachings are contained in a series of letters addressed by him to his disciple Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn.

He died in 1324 A. D. and was buried at first in Karnāl, but the people of Pānīpat, claiming him to be a native of their city, disintered his body and re-buried it in their own city. There is a legend, however, which says that when the people of Pānīpat came to remove his body they were prevented from carrying out their design by some supernatural portent, and so they merely dug up a few bricks from the tomb and, placing these in a coffin, carried them away in procession. On reaching Pānīpat they opened the coffin and, to their great surprise, found his body in it! It is now supposed that he lies buried both at Pānīpat and Karnāl.

His 'urs at any rate is held at both the places from the 9th. to 12th. Ramaḍān, during which days both shrines are illuminated and musical festivals are held.⁽¹⁾

5. THE MALAMATI ORDER.

The designation Malāmatī is derived from *malāmat*. "blame," and signifies one who is "blameworthy." The term has been generally applied to the saints of this Order, as indicating that they stood in a special relation to God, and, in consequence, were not subject to the Divine ordinances. This however does not appear to have been the meaning which the early exponents of Ṣūfism attached to the word. Rather it was used by them for a mode of life sometimes adopted

(1) For Qalandari saints see *Asrar-i-Tasawwuf*. Manzil-i-Naqsh-bandīyya, Lahore, July, 1925. The above account of the Qalandari order is chiefly derived from this Sufi Journal.

by the Ṣūfīs whereby they cloaked their sanctity by affecting the manners of the libertine.

The first saint to follow the path of *malāmatīyya* was Dhun Nūnū'l-Miṣrī who has been mentioned in the earlier chapter of this book (see pp. 19, 20). He was regarded by the 'Ulamā of Egypt as a *zindīq* or freethinker. It was his disciple, Hamdunū'l-Qaṣṣār, who founded the Malāmatī Order. 'Alīū'l-Hujwirī speaking about him writes as follows: "He has many fine sayings on the subject. It is recorded that he said: *Al-malāmat tarku s-salāmat*, 'Blame is the abandonment of welfare.' If anyone purposely abandons his own welfare and girds himself to endure misfortune, and renounces his pleasures and familiar ties, in hope that the glory of God will be revealed to him, the more he is separated from mankind the more he is united to God."⁽¹⁾

The order was introduced into Constantinople by Shaykh Ḥamza, a Mullā of Brusa, in the 16th. century. There the *malāmatīs* came to be known as Ḥamzawīs, after the name of Ḥamza. They formed a secret Order, with an organization strikingly like that of the Freemasons. "Shaykh Ḥamza was executed soon after the accession of Sultān Murād (111), apparently in 1575. The ground of his condemnation was said to be his excessive reverence for the Lord Jesus, and he was sentenced to be stoned at the Hippodrome, but, out of fear of a popular outbreak, as soon as he was brought out of his prison his throat was cut. One

(1) *Kashf ul-Mahjub*. p. 66.